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Refugee Reports

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SENATE HOLDS MIDYEAR HEARINGS ON FY 87 REFUGEE ADMISSIONS

Refugee admissions to the United States in FY 87 are expected to total about 65,000, according to government officials testifying at a June 30 Senate hearing on the U.S. refugee program. In order to achieve this number, the Reagan administration has authorized reductions in the Africa and Latin America regional ceilings, where shortfalls are anticipated for the year, and supplemented the admissions ceilings for the Soviet Union and the Near East/South Asia. The worldwide refugee admissions ceiling for FY 87 is 70,000, which includes an "unallocated reserve" of 4,000 (see chart below).

The hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs marked the second time that midyear consultations have been held on the refugee program. It is the third time since passage of the Refugee Act of 1980 that regional admissions ceilings have been adjusted during the course of a fiscal year.

Original and Revised Ceilings for Refugee Admissions in FY 87

Region	Original Ceiling	Revised Ceiling
Africa	3,500	2,000
East Asia	40,500	40,500
Eastern Europe/ Soviet Union	10,000	12,300
Latin America/ Caribbean	4,000	1,000
Near East/ South Asia	8,000	10,200
Reserve	4,000	4,000
TOTAL	70,000	70,000

Ambassador Moore Explains Need for Regional Transfers

Testimony from Ambassador Jonathan Moore, the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, cited delays in the movement of approved refugees out of the Sudan and

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"fewer than anticipated" refugee applications from Southern Africa to explain why admissions of African refugees will total about 2,000 this fiscal year.

FY 87 admissions from Latin America and the Caribbean will be even farther off the original mark of 4,000, which included a special authorization to admit up to 1,000 non-Cuban refugees from the region. As of May, regional admissions totalled only about 60 Cuban refugees. In June, the administration authorized the transfer of 3,000 admissions numbers out of the region.

Moore noted that an additional 348 Cubans, all political prisoners and their families, will be allowed to leave Cuba shortly, thanks to negotiations undertaken by Monsignor Nicholas DiMarzio of the U.S. Catholic Conference with President Fidel Castro. Processing of Cuban political prisoners has been slow since May 1985, when Castro suspended the Mariel Migration Agreement.

"Few refugees from other Latin American countries have yet applied for admission," said Moore, although he noted that the United States has recently set up "special working agreements" with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM) "in order to pursue more vigorously efforts to identify potential candidates."

Commissioner Alan Nelson of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) testified that an INS "circuit rider" trip to Latin America will take place in July to process several groups of non-Cuban refugees.

In justifying the transfer of 2,300 admissions numbers to the Eastern Europe/Soviet Union region, Moore said, "Emigration from the Soviet Union reached the highest level in five years in April 1987, and may increase still further." The National Conference on Soviet Jewry reports that 3,098 Soviet Jews have emigrated since the start of the calendar year.

Persecution and human rights abuses in Afghanistan and Iran "continue to produce larger than anticipated needs for U.S. resettlement of refugees from those countries," said Moore. With 7,000 refugee applications pending in the Near East/South Asia region, a transfer of 2,200 admissions numbers "will help alleviate some of these pressures," he said.

Due to illness, Moore did not present his testimony himself. He was represented by Robert Funseth, senior deputy assistant secretary of the Bureau for Refugee Programs in the Department of State. Also testifying for the administration was Billie F. Gee, director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services.

Kennedy, Simpson "Concur" with Transfers, Express "Some Disappointment" In a June 24 letter to Moore, Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) commended him for "using the flexibility which the Refugee Act provides" in reallocating numbers from the Africa and Latin America regions. "It is not without some disappointment that we concur with this transfer, however," they added. The senators urged the United States to make "greater efforts ...in Africa and other countries to assure that our resettlement program is indeed available to those refugees needing it." The letter also noted the ability of governments such as Canada and Australia to "find significant numbers of refugees" in regions where the United States has traditionally offered resettlement to very few.

Kennedy is chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs, and Simpson is ranking minority member.

The two senators recommended that approximately $2 million be transferred within the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) to expand the matching grant program in light of the anticipated increase in arrivals of Soviet Jews (see Refugee Reports, Vol. VIII, No. 6). The program, which matches public and private funding on a one-to-one basis up to $1,000 per refugee, "has achieved remarkable success in helping refugees secure early employment," said the letter.

InterAction Testimony Highlights Resettlement Needs, INS Processing Wide-ranging testimony from private voluntary agencies was presented by Karl Zukerman, chairman of InterAction's committee on migration and refugee affairs. In his statement at the hearing, Zukerman expressed support for continued resettlement of Indochinese refugees, maintenance of the matching grant program, and enactment of the Moakley-DeConcini bill, which would grant temporary safe haven to Salvadorans and Nicaraguans in the United

States who are fleeing violence in their own countries. (See Recent Developments)

The InterAction testimony also stated that "a continued INS overseas presence in refugee processing is anachronistic, costly, and not really necessary." InterAction recommended that the INS "withdraw from refugee processing overseas and that these responsibilities be delegated to consular officers of the Department of State."

Consular officials will issue more than 200,000 immigrant visas this year, and more than 2 million non-immigrant visas, according to InterAction. "Is it necessary to maintain a parallel overseas service within the INS with the primary function of processing 50,000 to 60,000 refugees?" the testimony asked.

A "chronic shortage of personnel" in INS, moreover, has created "major bottlenecks" in refugee processing, the InterAction statement continued. It gave the example of INS "circuit riders" who travel infrequently to processing posts, thereby generating admissions problems and imposing hardships on refugees who must wait long periods for an INS officer to arrive.

INS Commissioner Nelson defended the current system as "cost effective, while having the added benefit of maintaining high quality, consistent refugee determinations." Generally, INS officers are stationed in countries of first asylum with concentrations of refugee applicants, said Nelson. Replacement of INS staff by State Department consular officials "would have to be one-for-one in these settings," he said, and no savings would be achieved.

The quality of refugee processing would also suffer, according to Nelson, in distant consular posts "with inexperienced consular officers and where no assistance would be available from contract voluntary agency personnel."

Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees Reports on Mission to Thailand Preservation of first asylum, refugee protection, and continuation of consistent and compassionate resettlement policies were the three major concerns voiced by Bayard Rustin, chairman of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees. The group, which included actress and humanitarian Liv Ullmann, visited seven refugee camps and detention centers in Thailand from May 29 to June 4.

Noting that, during their visit, seven people were killed and numerous others wounded by shelling at the Cambodian border camp, Site 2, the group recommended that the safety of the 260,000 Cambodian "displaced persons" on the border "should be further safeguarded by bringing them within the protection of the UNHCR." They also recommended that Site 2 be moved to a safer location.

The citizens group took "special note" of the caseload of more than 12,000 Cambodians in Khao I Dang who have been rejected for U.S. admission, and said a further review of these cases "is imperative." Khao I Dang, a UNHCR refugee camp with about 22,000 Cambodians, was officially closed by Thai authorities at the beginning of the year.

In his testimony, Ambassador Moore called the issue of the rejected Cambodians "complicated, difficult, and emotionally loaded." He said he was "engaged actively in weighing all the pieces, and will have a course of action to recommend shortly."

Nelson defended the INS rejections as "justified," saying, "Our procedures are solid." "We can't just have a review for review's sake," he said. "The system will be torn apart." Nelson also indicated that the use of Humanitarian Parole (HP) for this group "would not be appropriate." The HP designation, which has been used to admit a very limited number of Cambodians from the border and Khao I Dang into the United States, expedites processing for people who do not meet refugee criteria and are not yet eligible for an immigrant visa, or whose admissions to the United States is determined by the Attorney General to be "for emergent reasons or...in the public interest."

The Citizens Commission recommended that the Thai screening program for Laotian asylum-seekers needs "greater UNHCR participation by international staff," and that Hmong and other highland Lao should be permitted to enter the screening process, which was begun by Thailand in July 1985 in an effort to identify Laotian border-crossers with legitimate claims to refugee status.

The group also called for the "immediate resumption" of the Orderly Departure Program, which has brought more than 50,000 Vietnamese refugees and immigrants directly to the United States since 1979. Processing

of new cases for the U.S. program came to a halt in January 1986 when the Vietnamese government suspended further interviewing.

Simpson Says Indochinese Program "Dominates and Dwarfs" Rest of the World "I am concerned at the direction of our refugee program in Southeast Asia," said Simpson at the conclusion of testimony by private witnesses. It "continues to dominate and dwarf the rest of the world," he said, "despite the reports that the flow has increasingly changed. Fewer and fewer have grounds for persecution, and more and more are economic migrants." The Southeast Asian program "is so focused on the minutest detail," he said, "that other bona fide refugee situations get overlooked and underaddressed."

It is "unreasonable" to expect that the 150,000 people still in first asylum camps throughout the region would be eligible for admission to the United States under current law, said Simpson. "We either change the laws or quit gimmicking the system at the request of some incredibly selfish advocates," he said.

Simpson pointed out that, of the Indochinese refugees resettled around the world, the United States had resettled 50 percent of the Vietnamese, 85 percent of the Cambodians, and 95 percent of the Hmong, an ethnic group from the mountains of Laos. Noting some of the difficulties they have encountered adjusting to American life, Simpson called the Hmong "the most indigestible group in society."

Angola Nears Massive Food Crisis Warning of an "impending disaster in Angola," Roger Winter of the U.S. Committee for Refugees testified that "parts of that country will face famine conditions by the end of this year." Winter told of his visit to Zaire last month where he encountered some of the 20,000 new Angolan refugees who entered Zaire in the last few months. "They report there is no food back inside Angola," he said, "and that planting has been disrupted by the violence" of a civil war that has lasted almost twelve years and uprooted nearly four million people.

To meet minimum consumption levels, Angola will need about 200,000 tons of grain, according to Winter. He said he expected the United Nations to declare a food emergency shortly, and called upon the United States and other Western donors to respond "promptly and favorably to Angola's food needs, drawing, wherever possible, on food surpluses in African countries."

Winter had better news on Uganda, where he said, "Voluntary repatriation is alive and well." Several years ago, Ugandan refugees comprised the fourth largest refugee group in the world, as more than 400,000 people had fled from the abuses of the Milton Obote regime into the neighboring countries of Rwanda, Zaire, and the Sudan. Now, "one of the largest voluntary repatriations of refugees in years" has brought that number down to around 75,000, the result of a conciliatory government with a more disciplined army, said Winter.

Former INS Commissioner Proposes New Refugee Category One of the four witnesses at the hearing from the private sector chose not to focus on recent refugee program operations, but proposed, instead, a change in the Refugee Act itself. "The suggestion is that we consider creating a special humanitarian status to supplement the status of refugee as we presently know it," said Doris Meissner, senior associate with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and former acting commissioner of INS. "What is needed is a legal status that can bridge the gap in time and definition between a refugee and an immigrant."

Before passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, large numbers of refugees were "paroled" into the United States, under the authority of the Attorney General. Although this "ad hoc" approach created numerous legal problems, according to Meissner, "there was no difficulty deciding whether particular individuals qualified to come to the U.S. as refugees," since parole actions applied to groups of people.

Under the terms of the Refugee Act, "a refugee would now have to be not just a person who was part of a group that was of special humanitarian concern to the U.S.," Meissner said, but also "a person who could individually demonstrate a well-founded fear of persecution." This "more stringent requirement," she said, "establishes a standard that is not altogether synonymous with circumstances of compelling humanitarian need or concern to the U.S."

"We have three choices," said Meissner, "We can turn away; we can dilute the

integrity of the definition; or we can find a way to introduce more flexibility into our law and policy." Her proposal is to create a special humanitarian status of "Class II refugees," similar to designations that already exist in Canadian and Australian programs. Class II refugees would not be required to meet the individual "well-founded fear of persecution" definition, but would rather be admissible on more general, but still compelling, humanitarian grounds.

In Meissner's proposal, Class II refugees would be included in the admissions ceilings established in the annual consultations, but would be eligible for "limited special benefits that are less than those accorded Class I refugees."

"Creating another category of refugees as I have proposed should not be seen as a way to increase the total annual number of refugee admissions," said Meissner. "It is instead a way to achieve a mix that would more nearly approximate the actual makeup of refugee populations around the world today."

Update

° President Reagan extended Most Favored Nation trading status to Romania on June 2, despite expressing reservations about continuing human rights violations in the country. A White House statement said that Reagan thinks "it is better to direct our efforts to improving conditions that arouse our concern than to abandon the principal means of influence we now have and walk away."

The administration move has been opposed by some members of Congress. On April 30, an amendment to the omnibus trade bill passed in the House of Representatives by a 232-183 vote that would suspend Most Favored Nation status to Romania for six months. Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), who introduced the House amendment, was described to Refugee Reports by an aide as "very disappointed" by the President's action.

Administration sources have argued that there has been greater latitude on the part of Romania for emigration because of Most Favored Nation status (see Refugee Reports, Vol. VII, No. 1).

° The President is expected to sign the $9.4 billion supplemental appropriations bill (H.R. 1827) for this fiscal year, which Congress approved July 2. The bill includes $137 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), money INS officials have said is required to implement fully the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The final appropriation falls $10 million short of the INS request.

° According to a report from the Caribbean news service, CANA, the government of Belize may soon ask the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to end its presence in the country. The June 9 report said the government is also considering ways to "restrict the number of Central American migrants into Belize." No confirmation of the report was available.

° UNHCR and the government of Honduras have agreed to cooperate in "the development of a national refugee program under the mandate of UNHCR." Among the terms agreed to in the memorandum of understanding are the recognition by Honduras of its responsibility to grant asylum or temporary residence "particularly to those who have a well-founded fear of being persecuted," and UNHCR's agreement to "collaborate in seeking global solutions" to resettle refugees in third countries. UNHCR will also cooperate with the Honduran refugee commission, CONARE, in "improving the infrastructure" of the refugee camps.

The memorandum was signed June 3 in Geneva by High Commissioner Jean-Pierre Hocke, and Honduran Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carlos Lopez Contreras.

° A new private organization has been established, the U.S. Association for International Migration (USAIM), whose primary objective is to support the work of the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM). ICM, an intergovernmental agency funded by 33 governments, is concerned primarily with resettlement processing and transportation for refugees and migrants. Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), ranking minority member of the Senate refugee subcommittee, and Rep. Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, have been elected as co-chairman of the board. The USAIM board of directors also

includes Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), also on the Senate refugee subcommittee, and Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr., (R-N.Y.), the ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, who also sits on the House refugee subcommittee.

Among other concerns, the board gave "high priority to exploratory programs to find innovative solutions to the problems of resettling displaced persons, political detainees and refugees in Central America." An ICM report on the reception of Salvadorans deported from the United States has been a controversial subject of congressional debate (see Refugee Reports, Vol. VIII, No. 6).

° The State Department's Bureau for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs (BHRHA) has announced a new policy with respect to advisory opinions on asylum applications. The policy requires the bureau to make greater efforts to remain neutral in its determination of whether a person has a well-founded fear of persecution and in providing background information. A Department official said, "The result should be that our advisory opinions will be less conclusionary than they may have sounded in the past."

° Since the beginning of the year, more than 900 Cambodian "displaced persons" have left the camps of Site 2 and Site 8 on the Thai-Cambodian border and travelled north to the "comparatively model camp" of Site B, according to a July report in the Far Eastern Economic Review. So far, 879 Cambodians have made the trek from Site 2 to Site B, compared to 619 for all of 1986. Site B, with a population of about 47,000, is administered by the followers of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

"One main reason the new arrivals from Site 2 give us for leaving is that they can't stay because of the insecurity there," said Kun Kim Teng, a Site B administrator. Site 2 has been plagued with internal security problems for some time, and on May 29 the camp was hit by Vietnamese artillery fire. Seven people, including two children, were killed and 19 others were wounded. Site 2's population of 150,000 is under the administration of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), an anti-communist resistance group.

According to the article, only about 30 people have "escaped" from Site 8 and other camps controlled by the Khmer Rouge, a communist faction whose four-year rule of Cambodia led to the deaths of at least one million people. "I think 95 percent of families in Site 8 want to leave but they can't escape," said one arrival.

Recent Developments

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE PUBLISHES NEW RULES ON AIDS TESTING FOR REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS

The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) of the U.S. Public Health Service recently published a final rule identifying AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) as a "dangerous contagious disease." As such, refugees, immigrants, and applicants for permanent resident status will be considered inadmissible to the United States if they are diagnosed as having AIDS. -This rule, published in the June 8 Federal Register, became effective July 10.

AIDS joins a list of excludable medical conditions that includes infectious leprosy, active tuberculosis, and chancroid, as well as infectious syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases. Other grounds for medical exclusion, as outlined in the Immigration and Nationality Act, include certain mental conditions, drug addiction, and chronic alcoholism.

In the same Federal Register, CDC published a far more controversial proposed rule that would substitute human immune deficiency virus (HIV) infection for AIDS on the list of dangerous contagious diseases. The change is warranted, according to CDC, because "all persons with AIDS have HIV infection," and "any person infected with HIV, with or without clinical manifestations of AIDS, is assumed to be capable of transmitting the virus."

HIV infection can be transmitted by sexual contact, the sharing of intravenous needles, and blood transfusions. Infected mothers can also transfer the virus to their infants at birth.

"The distinction between the two rules is an important one," said Charles Kamasaki of the National Council of La Raza. The final rule requires that a medical examiner establish a diagnosis only "if there is a

clinical suspicion of AIDS," according to the CDC. The proposed rule, on the other hand, "would establish a testing requirement," said Kamasaki, that would apply to all refugees, immigrants, and applicants for legalization.

The proposed CDC rule requires that an alien must show a negative result in a test for HIV antibodies in order to obtain a permanent or immigrant visa, or to be admissible as a permanent resident of the U.S.

"There is no public health rationale that supports the proposed rule," said one government official, who declined to be identified. "And there is a distinct possibility of threatening the elemental concept of first asylum" for refugees, he added. Relatively few refugee applicants are likely to test positive, he said, but "if the Americans walk in and say 'We're going to start testing,' that will make everyone nervous. First asylum countries may start thinking about repatriation."

A voluntary agency source told Refugee Reports that, while AIDS is a dangerous contagious disease, it differs from the others on the CDC list in one key aspect: it can neither be cured nor rendered noncontagious. A refugee determined to have AIDS or HIV infection will therefore never be admissible to the United States, the source said, unless a cure is found some time in the future. The burden, perhaps a permanent one, then falls on the first asylum countries to care for these individuals. A host government's initial, reluctant tolerance for refugees might quickly turn to fear and hostility, given the high fatality rates of AIDS and the stigma attached to it.

"Time is what is most needed," the voluntary agency official told Refugee Reports, "to think about the political and humanitarian implications." Time may be in short supply. The Senate recently adopted a legislative amendment offered by Sen. Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.) that would require implementation of HIV testing by August 31. "We are playing with dynamite," said the government official, "with a very short fuse."

STATUS OF POLES, NICARAGUANS, SALVADORANS SUBJECT OF DEBATE, CONFUSION

The future for Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, and Poles currently living in the United States remains open to question as various Reagan administration officials continue to issue, or leak to the press, contradictory statements about its policy regarding the withholding of deportation for these nationals.

These reports have suggested both conflict between the Departments of State and Justice--as in considering whether to withhold deportation of Salvadorans and Poles--as well as conflict within the Justice Department itself--as in the case of Nicaraguans.

The first in a series of mixed signals from the administration came in May, following a request by Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte that the United States not deport Salvadorans. The Christian Science Monitor reported that a "senior State Department official" sent a letter to Attorney General Edwin Meese III asking him to honor Duarte's request by granting extended voluntary departure (EVD) to Salvadorans (see Refugee Reports, Vol. VIII, No. 5). EVD is a temporary stay of deportation granted to specific nationality groups at the discretion of the Attorney General. However, the State Department subsequently recommended against EVD for Salvadorans and said earlier press reports were "in error."

Then, on June 18, despite press reports of a State Department recommendation not to renew EVD for Polish nationals, the Justice Department did just that--extending their EVD status to December 31, 1987.

Without commenting directly on the recommendation, a State Department official told Refugee Reports, "The Department of State's role is advisory only." He added, however, that "Poland is without political prisoners and it is unlikely that those who return will face arrest."

The next development occurred on June 27, when the Washington Post, citing Justice Department sources, reported that the administration would offer Nicaraguans a special legal immigration status. Three days later, John R. Bolton, assistant attorney general, sent a letter to Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which said, "The [Justice] Department's position on EVD for Nicaraguans is unchanged." A week later, however, on July 8, the Attorney General issued an announcement which was widely

reported in the press as a "special immigration policy" for Nicaraguans.

A Justice Department spokesman told Refugee Reports, however, that the announcement was "fundamentally" a restatement of current immigration laws--laws that apply to members of all nationality groups.

The spokesman did make clear, however, that Nicaraguans will likely receive special consideration from INS officials as a result of the Attorney General's statement. Nicaraguans will be encouraged to apply for asylum, and to have their claims reconsidered if previously denied. While their claims are being reviewed, they will receive work authorization quickly.

When asked why Nicaraguans were being singled out for this kind of attention, the spokesman said, "It is obvious to us, at least, that people who are fearful of being deported to Marxist, totalitarian countries are more likely to establish a well-founded fear of persecution than those from a country with a democratically elected government."

Members of Congress Question Administration Policy on EVD These often contradictory statements and press reports have fueled congressional debate concerning the administration's policies.

In reacting to the July 8 announcement concerning Nicaraguans, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of the Senate refugee subcommittee, remarked, "I basically think it's a rather phony document."

Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R. Wyo.), ranking minority member of the refugee subcommittee, and frequently an administration ally on EVD issues, said that he did support the case-by-case review of asylum claims for Nicaraguans implied in the announcement, but added that he had not been involved in preparing the statement.

In the House, Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass.), the sponsor of a bill for the temporary withholding of deportation for Nicaraguans and Salvadorans, termed the Attorney General's July 8 statement as "bureaucratic double-talk." He said, "It is a self-serving attempt to neutralize Nicaraguan support for legislation which would offer both Nicaraguans and Salvadorans a more generous and fair status."

Moakley agreed with Kennedy's assessment of the announcement that, in actuality, "the situation for Nicaraguans today is no different than the situation for Nicaraguans yesterday."

He also said that by ignoring any mention of Salvadorans, the administration had turned "a cold and callous shoulder on thousands of refugees who have fled a violent civil war."

Some Nicaraguans Apparently Confused by the Announcement Press reports about the Attorney General's announcement led many Nicaraguans to call voluntary agencies for advice about whether to apply for asylum, legalization, or some other remedy, according to voluntary agency sources. Many Nicaraguans assumed they were receiving EVD, these sources said.

Monsignor Nicholas DiMarzio, Director of Migration and Refugee Services for the U.S. Catholic Conference, told Refugee Reports that he viewed the announcement as an "effort to undercut support for the DeConcini-Moakley bill." He called it "an attempt to portray a set of basically pre-existing procedures as a 'new' policy."

Congressional Debate Focuses on Moakley/DeConcini Bills The occasion for many of the congressional criticisms of administration policy has come at hearings for the two bills pending in congressional committees that would offer a temporary stay of deportation for Salvadorans and Nicaraguans.

At the June 30 House Judiciary Committee mark-up of Moakley's bill, H.R. 618, Rep. Lawrence J. Smith (D-Fl.) charged that "the administration has no policy" with respect to EVD.

Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli, chairman of the House refugee subcommittee and the lone Democrat on the Judiciary Committee to vote against EVD for Salvadorans and Nicaraguans, said he was "disconcerted that the administration is contemplating favorable handling of Nicaraguans" after turing down Salvadorans.

The Moakley bill passed the House Judiciary Committee on June 30 by a vote of 20 to 15. In addition to Mazzoli, all Republican members cast "no" votes. The bill now goes to the House Rules Committee, the final step before reaching the House floor. A floor vote is expected during the last week in July, according to congressional sources.

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ABRAMS AND MOAKLEY DISCUSS EVD

At the June 17 House rules subcommittee hearing on the bill to suspend deportation of Salvadorans and Nicaraguans, Rep. Joe Moakley (D-Mass.), subcommittee chairman, and Elliot Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, entered into a discussion on extended voluntary departure (EVD):

Moakley: President Reagan, in his letter of May 21, asked Secretary Shultz to bring to the urgent attention of the Justice Department the matter of avoiding the sudden return of...undocumented Salvadorans in the United States.

Has the State Department taken any action?....

Abrams: Well, we have had a number of discussions...with people at the Justice Department about this.... We would like to find a way to offer whatever protection is needed, including protecting El Salvador from the return of large numbers of immigrants...without doing what we don't want to do, which is the granting of EVD to everybody who was here as of the end of last year....

Moakley: ...Is there any outside chance that the State Department may aggressively pursue any kind of temporary suspension in the near future, as far as Salvadorans or Nicaraguans are concerned?

Abrams: I don't think that there would be--I don't think you can count on any kind of administrative action coming prior to the time that this legislation is likely to be finally considered....

Moakley: I am kind of puzzled by the administration's posturing on [EVD]. The foreign policy issues are extremely puzzling to me. On one hand, the President refers to Nicaragua as a "totalitarian dungeon"...then he rejects the proposal... to grant [EVD] to Nicaraguans.

Now, in the case of Poland, if my information is correct,...the State Department has recommended to the Justice Department that the EVD be eliminated for Polish refugees in the United States, and I find that this is somewhat astounding from the State Department, which is known for documenting the human rights violations of the communist Polish government.... Can you straighten me out on this?

Abrams: ....It is a generally unsatisfactory situation. I mean, you are pointing out anomalies and contradictions, and you are right.... That is why...there is this question of whether there needs to be some kind of change in the law, I think.

We don't agree with the exact change that you have proposed, but I think a lot of us are thinking about what changes might be useful, because you end up in these situations where you don't want to encourage lots of immigration, you don't want massive returns of people to places where there is no place for them.

You don't want to create a worse situation than there already is, and in a lot of these cases, it is pretty bad. The law doesn't permit you to do exactly what you want to do, when you try to force it into one category or another that doesn't quite exactly fit; the case of Nicaragua is a very good example. We don't want to encourage people to leave their homes; on the other hand, we don't want to send people back to a country, given our view of the government, as you described it.

So, we are caught. Because the realities of the lives people are leading and the pigeonholes of the law don't exactly fit together, and so you describe a situation which is not logical and sensible, and in many cases, is not humanitarian, humane either. I think your description is accurate.

A Senate version of the bill, S. 332, introduced by Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), which, as yet, includes only Salvadorans, is scheduled for mark-up by the Judiciary Committee on July 15.

Naturalization Bill for Poles Weighs on EVD Debate Representatives also debated whether temporary withholding of deportation would result in beneficiaries eventually remaining permanently in the United States. Rep. Daniel E. Lungren (R-Ca.) warned, "Those granted EVD are never sent home."

Mazzoli added, "It is inevitable that a naturalization bill will be introduced for them [Nicaraguans and Salvadorans--if the bill becomes law], as with the Poles."

Mazzoli was referring to a bill introduced by Rep. William O. Lipinski (D-Ill.) to allow Polish nationals who have lived in the United States since the EVD cut-off date to adjust to permanent resident status.

Tom Yazdgerdi, a legislative assistant to Lipinski, said that the bill, H.R. 2692, was similar in principle to Cuban and Haitian adjustment acts. He estimated that between 7,000 and 10,000 Poles could benefit from its provisions.

Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) has introduced a companion bill, S. 1424, in the Senate.

SHULTZ PROMISES CONTINUED U.S. COMMITMENT TO INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

Secretary of State George P. Shultz told Southeast Asian foreign ministers meeting in Singapore last month that the United States will continue to resettle "substantial numbers" of Indochinese refugees. In return, he said, the first asylum countries in the region "must reconfirm their commitment to humanitarian treatment of all seeking asylum."

In a June 18 speech before the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Shultz said, "It has become clear to all of us that the refugee problem in this part of the world is an enduring one, and we must realize that solving it will be a long-term process." The ASEAN countries--Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, and the Philippines--had issued a joint statement several days earlier expressing "grave concern and serious dissatisfaction" at the continued influx of refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

The ASEAN communique called resettlement in other countries "the appropriate solution," since local integration was "not a viable option." There are close to 138,000 Indochinese refugees in first asylum camps throughout the region, and an additional 260,000 Cambodian "displaced persons" in Thailand. ASEAN urged the resettlement countries "not to reduce their intake or to impose conditions which would make resettlement more difficult."

"I want to reassure you," Shultz told the ASEAN ministers, "that the commitment of the United States to resolving the Indochinese refugee problem is as strong today as it has ever been." He said he was "very pleased" to have received a letter from four U.S senators shortly before he left for Singapore, expressing bipartisan support for the refugee program. The letter, signed by Sens. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), and Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), said that "broad support remains strong within Congress for the continued and active involvement of the United States in addressing the protection, assistance, and resettlement needs of refugees throughout Southeast Asia."

Shultz Meets With Thai Foreign Minister Shultz also met separately with Thailand's foreign minister, Sitthi Sawetsila, to discuss refugee concerns. With more than 370,000 refugees and displaced persons in 16 camps around the country, Thailand's refugee burden is by far the heaviest in the region. Vietnamese boat arrivals in the first four months of 1987, moreover, were the highest in five years, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). From January to April, 2,800 "boat people" arrived in Thailand, almost 1,300 more than the same period in 1986.

According to Thai press accounts of the meeting, Sitthi urged the United States to continue to resettle large numbers of Hmong, a Laotian hilltribe group and U.S. ally during the Indochina conflict. The United States will resettle about 8,900 Hmong in FY 87, but more than 57,000 remain in Thai refugee camps. Sitthi reportedly assured Shultz that Hmong asylum-seekers will be allowed to enter the screening process

established by Thailand to identify people with legitimate claims to refugee status. He also requested U.S. assistance in persuading Laos to take back the people who are "screened out" and denied entrance to refugee camps.

ASEAN, Senate Letter Call for Attention to Root Causes of Refugee Flows The ASEAN comunique signalled regional agreement on "the urgency for increased efforts towards solving the [refugee] problem at its source," namely Vietnam. The statement urged Vietnam to cooperate with UNHCR and the resettlement countries to revive the Orderly Departure Program (ODP), which has allowed more than 120,000 Vietnamese to emigrate legally since 1979. The U.S. ODP program has been in jeopardy since Vietnam suspended interviewing of new U.S cases in January 1986.

The United States should press for "greater diplomatic activity between ASEAN and the Indochinese governments, particularly Vietnam," the senators' letter stated, "in order to deal with the 'root causes' behind the continuing refugee problems in the region." Hatfield, along with 14 other senators, has introduced a concurrent resolution in Congress to establish "technical resolution offices" in both the United States and Vietnam to address a range of humanitarian issues. They include "the fullest possible accounting" of American POW/MIAs, release of political prisoners, rejuvenation of ODP, and the resettlement of Amerasians.

"For more than 10 years, Vietnam...has been exporting its human misery," said Singapore Foreign Minister Suppiah Dhanabalan in an interview with the Straits Times. The continued refugee outflow, he said, "is not a natural development. It should not be taken as the normal order of things and we must put a stop to it."

"The whole resolution of the refugee problem," said Hatfield, "turns on U.S. involvement in the diplomatic process, not as bystanders dealing with the symptoms, but as activists working toward the solutions."

BIA SETS FORTH STANDARD FOR DETERMINING ASYLUM

The federal Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA), which has jurisdiction to hear appeals on asylum and deportation cases from immigration judges and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) district directors, has recently had to revise its standard for granting asylum in light of the Cardoza-Fonseca Supreme Court decision (see Refugee Reports, Vol. VIII, No. 3).

The Supreme Court decision overruled the BIA position that the legal standards for granting asylum and withholding deportation are the same. The BIA had held that the standard used to determine eligibility for withholding deportation--a "clear probability" of persecution--was not meaningfully different than the standard used in the granting of asylum--a "well-founded fear" of persecution. The Supreme Court, on the other hand, found the two standards to be "significantly different."

Although the Supreme Court ruled that a "well-founded fear" differs from "clear probability" of persecution, it did not attempt to define "well-founded fear," leaving a more concrete definition to the process of case-by-case adjudication.

The new BIA articulation of the "well-founded fear" standard came in just such an individual adjudication, involving a husband and wife applying for asylum from Iran. In this case, the husband cited an argument he had with a student-employee in the Iranian Interests Section in Washington, D.C. when he went to renew his documents. In the course of the altercation, the applicant said that he accused the staff at the Interests Section and members of the regime of being "religious fascists stuffing their pockets with the nation's wealth." He said that he was chased out of the Interests Section at gunpoint.

BIA Chooses "Reasonable Person" Approach The June 12 BIA decision reviewed how the various U.S. circuit courts of appeals have defined a "well-founded fear." The BIA cited the seventh circuit in the Carvajal-Munoz case to the effect that the applicant actually must have been the victim of persecution or must have some other good reason to fear being "singled out" for persecution. The seventh circuit also held that uncorroborated testimony would be insufficient unless it is "credible, persuasive, and points to specific facts" giving "good reason to fear that he or she will be singled out for

persecution."

The BIA cited the ninth circuit in the Diaz-Escobar case, which held that "the alien prove his fear is subjectively genuine and objectively reasonable."

In its own approach, the BIA chose to follow the lead of the fifth circuit decision in the Guevara Flores case, which held that "an alien possesses a well-founded fear of persecution if a reasonable person in her circumstances would fear persecution if she were to be returned to her native country."

In adopting the fifth circuit "reasonable person" approach, the BIA said. "A reasonable person may well fear persecution even where its likelihood is significantly less than clearly probable."

While acknowledging that the Supreme Court "effectively overruled" the BIA decision in Matter of Acosta that had held a "well-founded fear" of persecution to be the same, in practical terms, as a "clear probability", the BIA nevertheless said that "much of our decision remains intact, and good law." In particular, the BIA maintains that the four elements set forth in the Acosta decision that an asylum applicant must show in order to establish a "well-founded fear" are still valid (with the exception of one word--"easily" in point 2 below). Those requirements are that:

1) the alien possesses a belief or characteristic a persecutor seeks to overcome in others by means of punishment of some sort;
2) the persecutor is already aware, or could easily become aware, that the alien possesses this belief or characteristic;
3) the persecutor has the capability of punishing the alien; and
4) the persecutor has the inclination to punish the alien.

BIA Rejects Asylum for Aliens Fleeing Civil Strife The BIA noted that aliens who establish a well-founded fear of persecution will not necessarily be granted asylum. The applicant must also show that the fear of persecution would be on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. "Aliens fearing retribution over purely personal matters, or aliens fleeing general conditions of violence and upheaval in their countries, would not qualify for asylum," the BIA said.

Applying the new well-founded fear standard to the case of the Iranian asylum seeker, the BIA found that he "clearly expressed his political views at the Iranian Interests Section and his opinions were extremely derogatory to the regime in power." The BIA went on to say, "In this case, a reasonable person in the respondent's position would fear that his opposition to that regime has become known to those who are both in a position, and who have the inclination, to punish him for it." The BIA granted the Iranian man and his wife asylum.

Projects and Programs

ACADEMICS USE REFUGEES AS SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT HOME COUNTRIES

Gaining access to many refugee-producing countries is often difficult or impossible for Western scholars and researchers. Gathering data about the recent history, politics, economics, and society in many communist countries is particularly difficult. Yet these same countries produce many refugees now living in the United States who are only recently being approached as a valuable source of information about the nature of these societies.

Two major academic projects have now identified and begun to make use of two recent significant refugee populations: refugees from Southeast Asia and from the Soviet Union. Both have already produced important scholarship, shedding light on the life the refugees left behind.

Interview Project Examines Soviet Society A five-year research project at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign involving structured interviews with 2,793 systematically selected Soviet emigres is providing U.S. social scientists with new insights into Soviet society.

The Soviet Interview Project, funded by the National Council for Soviet and East European Research under contract with the U.S. State Department, has already yielded important information that in some instances contradicts popular perceptions about Soviet attitudes. For example, the research has

shown that younger people are more critical and more alienated from the tenets of the Soviet system than their elders, a finding that differs from what is known of earlier generations of Soviet youth.

Despite the assumption that people who opted to leave the Soviet Union would be strongly negative toward that society, the data have revealed that in many respects respondents were satisfied with Soviet life. "We were most surprised at the positive statements about life in the USSR," James R. Millar, director of the project, told Refugee Reports. "We found that 67 percent of the respondents were satisfied with the standard of living and that 52 percent gave the strongest possible support to state provision of medical care."

Millar said that the willingness of the emigres to endorse some aspects of Soviet society, while sharply criticizing others, is an indication that the survey is a valid measure of Soviet attitudes.

The researchers took great pains to determine bias and compensate for it to get a reasonably accurate picture, according to Millar. The refugee population, after all, does not represent a typical cross-section of Soviet society. It is educated, urban, and 80 percent Jewish. It is also a self-selected group of people sufficiently dissatisfied with the USSR to leave.

To begin with, the researchers recognized that they would not be able to generalize about the USSR as a whole, but rather about "adult Europeans living in medium and large cities of the USSR." They then focused their questioning on the respondents' "last normal period" of life in the USSR. Such a focus, according to Millar, avoids "confusion caused by the trauma many emigrants experienced prior to leaving the Soviet Union in the form of loss of jobs, educational placements, housing or other privileges."

To reduce the bias inherent in the emigre population, the researchers oversampled respondents who were less educated, less skilled, and less urban. The researchers were also able to compare Jewish and non-Jewish responses. The three-hour interviews included direct questions about ethnic identity and ethnic experiences, such as discrimination.

Papers utilizing the refugee data base have already been published on such topics as Soviet criminal justice; work and politics in Soviet cities; the use of intimidation in Soviet politics; the life course of Soviet women; management policy in Soviet firms; inequality of earnings; and ethnic relations, among others.

Refugees Recall Life in Southeast Asia

Since the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975, access to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia has been severely limited to Western scholars wishing to learn about these societies. As a consequence, the Social Science Research Council established the Indochina Studies Program to provide grants to academic projects that would utilize refugees. Largely funded by the Ford Foundation, grants were awarded to researchers using refugees as informants through interviews, recording and analysis of oral or ritual performance, life histories, language, and art.

Not only will the researchers now participating be able to use the data for their projects, an arrangement has also been made with the Library of Congress to collect and archive all of the research of the grantees. Hundreds of tapes, interviews, and field notes will be made available for future generations of researchers.

Many of the researchers themselves are Southeast Asian refugees. In fact, the majority of applicants for grants have been Southeast Asians. "Many of them, especially the Vietnamese, were academics before they came here," said Mary Byrne McDonnell, program associate with the Indochina Studies Program. "They didn't have good jobs--one had been working in a grocery store; another, as a hairdresser--now they are more plugged into the academic network here."

Whether themselves refugees or not, the researchers must also account for bias on the part of their subjects. "The more the topic is seen as political or as having a bearing on current politics, the harder it is," said Marshall Hurlich, a grantee from the University of Washington, who is doing a research project on the history of Hmong migration patterns over the past 6 to 7 generations.

"There is a very strong tendency for the Hmong to reinterpret history according to present political needs," he said. Hurlich developed a system of group and individual questioning to iron out ambiguities

and inconsistencies. He also made a point of interviewing common people as well as the leaders, and found the common people "not as subject to propaganda and without so much at stake politically in the present."

Researchers Need to Establish Trust with Refugees Hurlich also said that it was essential to build up trust with his subjects. This was done by helping them to solve specific resettlement problems. "Throughout this work, I've been a friend when I can, helping with immigration, schooling, making contacts for people."

Some of the Southeast Asian researchers run into more intractable problems. Thuan Truong, doing a project on the politicization of the Vietnamese trade union movement in the 1970s, told Refugee Reports, "The topic is very sensitive. People just say the things you already know."

The situation is further complicated for Truong, because as a Vietnamese refugee himself, he was a political actor in Vietnam during the period he is now trying to approach objectively as a scholar.

Truong said the use of refugees would be more successful on noncontroversial subjects, but that people won't talk otherwise. "People are happy to talk about how Vietnamese cooking differs from Chinese cooking," he said, "but when you get specific, and ask about corruption in Vietnam, about Thieu and Ky, most go into the shadows."

Truong's approach is not unlike Hurlich's. "You need to approach your subject a number of times, to establish trust, and make him more at ease with you."

Both Truong and Hurlich volunteered that they found many refugees reluctant to talk about matters because of past association with the CIA. Hurlich could make little headway in questioning Hmong about areas involving CIA activity. Truong said that many of those involved in Vietnamese trade union activities had some connection with the CIA as well, and that "it is too hard for them to get clearance to release interviews."

Project Analyzes Impact of Khmer Rouge on Cambodian Language John Marston and Sotheary Duong are working on a project in which they are trying to assess how the Cambodian language changed under the Khmer Rouge. In their home base of Minnesota where both researchers are known to the Cambodian community, people, for the most part, spoke openly about their experiences. However, when the researchers traveled to California to conduct interviews, they found more reticence. One man, who had been tortured by the Khmer Rouge, withdrew the interview after giving it. "The more severe the hardship, the more reluctant people are to go public about it," said Marston.

Marston said that they would describe specific situations, such as having to ask a Khmer Rouge group leader for something, and have people tell them what they would say. They also asked refugees directly to tell them new words and grammar under Pol Pot. They are now analyzing written materials from the Khmer Rouge period.

Many of the research projects are cultural or linguistic in nature, where bias is less of a problem. Such projects include Vietnamese ethnomusicology; patterns of design in white Hmong tapestries; Cambodian court dancing; and Lao Buddhist customs of birth, courtship, and marriage. However, many of the projects are clearly political in nature, especially, it seems, among the Vietnamese. While such projects can be very revealing, researchers agree that they are often the most difficult to conduct.

Current Research

EFFECTS OF TRAUMA ON CAMBODIAN WOMEN REFUGEES INCREASE OVER TIME

With the passing of time, Cambodian women who experienced trauma are likely to experience increased bouts of depression, anxiety, headaches, sleeplessness, and nightmares, according to a new research report.

The finding that the psychological effects of trauma do not decrease over time, but may actually grow worse, suggests, according to the report, that "once the immediate relocation crises of housing and employment are settled, memories of the traumas of the refugee experience begin to surface, haunting survivors for years afterward."

The most common complaint from the Cambodian women who responded to the survey was of headaches (49 percent), followed by

depression, anxiety, and sleeplessness.

Among younger women, ages 15 to 25, anxiety was the most frequently reported health problem. They cited frequent moves, divorce, and problems with child care as sources of concern. Although citing the same concerns, women aged 26 to 35 were more likely to report depression, headaches, and nightmares.

Women between the ages of 36 and 45 reported a higher incidence of traumatic life events, including deaths of family members, sexual assault, and witnessing torture and murder. They reported language problems, lack of money and jobs, and homesickness as their major resettlement concerns. Women over the age of 46 were more likely to be widowed and to have been sexually assaulted. They report more general health problems, and cite housing and language as resettlement concerns. They are also the most likely age group to have experienced assault or robbery in this country, the study found.

The report, "Health Issues for Cambodian Women: Needs Assessment Summary," by Candace Waldron, was based on a survey of 92 Cambodian women in the Boston area in 1986. As a result of the research findings, the Massachusetts Department of Public Health has developed a Cambodian Women's Health Project to set up self-help support groups for Cambodian women, advocacy, information, and referral.

For more information about the project or the report, contact Davy Um Heder, project coordinator, Cambodian Women's Health Project, Division of Family Health Services, Massachusetts Department of Public Health, 150 Tremont Street, Boston, MA 02111. (617) 727-7222.

Reader Exchange

"WALK FOR NEW AMERICANS" RAISES FUNDS FOR MAINE PROGRAM

On April 6, Peter Marbach set out on foot from Springer Mountain in Georgia bound for Mount Katahdin in Maine, 2,100 miles and 14 states away on the Appalachian Trail. Volunteer resource coordinator for the Portland, Maine Refugee Resettlement Program, Marbach hopes that his five-month walk will raise $100,000 for job training and mental health programs.

The money raised by the "Walk for New Americans" will be used to secure temporary housing for at least 60 of the 700 refugees expected to resettle in Maine in the next two years. Some funding will also be used for counseling, outreach, advocacy, and emergency programs.

For more information, or to send a contribution, contact: The Walk for New Americans, Refugee Resettlement Program, 107 Elm Street, Portland, Maine 04101. (207) 871-7437.

Resources

LAWYERS COMMITTEE REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND

The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights has recently published Repression Disguised as Law: Human Rights in Poland. The 110-page report reveals a pattern of laws that, in effect, institutionalize the harshest features of martial law which, officially, has ended.

The report charges that "the hallmark of [the regime's] repression has been a systematic effort to mask continuing rights violations behind a veneer of normality." The report documents a pattern of beatings and murder of people in police custody.

The report is available for $8 from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 36 W. 44th St., Suite 914, New York, NY 10036. Please include catalogue number EE-6, and $1.50 for postage and handling.

KIT GIVES CANADIANS TIPS FOR REFUGEE ADVOCACY

The Toronto Coalition for a Just Refugee and Immigration Policy has produced an educational kit on Canadian refugee and family reunification policy. The kit, Borders and Barriers, is divided into five sections, including a question-and-answer guide, historical background, refugee testimonials, analysis of Canadian refugee policies, and action strategies.

To order, send $7.50 to the Jesuit Refugee Programme, 947 Queen St. East, Toronto, Ontario M4M 1J9. (416) 469-1123.

ACTUAL REFUGEE ADMISSIONS TO THE U.S. AND CEILINGS ON REFUGEE ADMISSIONS, FY 75-87
(As of May 31, 1987)

	FY 75	FY 76	FY 77	FY 78	FY 79	FY 80	FY 81	FY 82	FY 83a/	FY 84b/	FY 85b/	FY 86	FY 87	TOTAL
AFRICA						955	2,119	3,326	2,648	2,747	1,953	1,315	1,131	16,194
(CEILINGS)						1,500	3,000	3,500	3,000	2,750	3,000	3,500	3,500	
ASIA	135,000	15,000	7,000	20,574	76,521	163,799	131,139	73,522	39,408	51,960	49,970	45,454	19,916	829,263
						169,200	168,000	96,000	64,000	52,000	50,000	45,500	40,500	
EASTERN EUROPE	1,947	1,756	1,755	2,245	3,393	5,025	6,704	10,780	12,083	10,285	9,350	8,713	5,389	79,425
						5,000	4,500	11,000						
SOVIET UNION	6,211	7,450	8,191	10,688	24,449	28,444	13,444	2,756	1,409	715	640	787	1,002	106,186
						33,000	33,000	20,000	15,000	11,000	10,000	9,500	10,000	
LATIN AMERICA	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	7,000	6,662	2,017	602	668	160	138	173	49	29,469
						20,500	4,000	3,000	2,000	1,000	3,000	3,000	4,000	
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA						2,231	3,829	6,369	5,465	5,246	5,994	5,998	6,138	41,270
						2,500	4,500	6,500	6,000	5,250	6,000	6,000	8,000	
UNALLOCATED RESERVE													4,000c/	
TOTAL	146,158	27,206	19,946	36,507	111,363	207,116	159,252	97,355	61,681	71,113	68,045	62,440	33,625	1,101,807
						231,700	217,000	140,000	90,000	72,000	70,000	67,000	70,000	

a/ From FY 83 on, the Eastern Europe ceiling was combined with the ceiling for the Soviet Union.

b/ This chart shows the adjusted regional ceilings that were established at mid-year consultations in FY 84 and FY 85. The overall annual ceilings did not change.

c/ For the first time, the FY 87 admissions ceiling includes an unallocated reserve for "contingent refugee admission needs," to be used only after consultation with Congress, and only to the extent that private sector funding is available to support admissions using the reserve.

NOTE: Figures in shaded areas represent annual ceilings.
Source: Bureau for Refugee Programs/U.S. Department of State.

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